

we have done. To fight an insurgency often takes a decade or more. It takes more troops than we have committed. It takes clearing, holding, and building so that the people there see the value of what we are doing. They become the source of intelligence, and they weed out the insurgents. But we have not cleared and held and built. We have cleared and left, and the insurgents have come back.

I, for one, am at the end of my rope when it comes to supporting a policy that has our soldiers patrolling the same streets in the same way, being blown up by the same bombs day after day. That is absurd. It may even be criminal. I cannot support that anymore. I believe we need to figure out how to fight the war on terror and to do it right. So either we clear and hold and build, or let's go home.

There are no good options, as the Iraq Study Group has mentioned in their report. I am not sure cutting and walking is any better. I have little confidence that the Syrians and the Iraqis are going to be serious about helping us to build a stable and democratic Iraq. I am at a crossroads as well. I want my constituents to know what is in my heart, what has guided my votes.

What will continue to guide the way I vote is simply this: I do not believe we can retreat from the greater war on terror. Iraq is a battlefield in that larger war. But I do believe we need a presence there on the near horizon at least that allows us to provide intelligence, interdiction, logistics, but mostly a presence to say to the murderers that come across the border: We are here, and we will deal with you. But we have no business being a policeman in someone else's civil war.

I welcome the Iraq Study Group's report, but if we are ultimately going to retreat, I would rather do it sooner than later. I am looking for answers, but the current course is unacceptable to this Senator. I suppose if the President is guilty of one other thing, I find it also in the words of Winston Churchill. He said:

After the First World War, let us learn our lessons. Never, never believe that any war will be smooth and easy or that anyone who embarks on this strange voyage can measure the tides and the hurricanes. The statesman who yields to war fever must realize that once the signal is given, he is no longer the master of policy but the slave of unforeseeable and uncontrollable events.

That is a lesson we are learning again. I am afraid, rather than leveling with the American people and saying this was going to be a decade-long conflict because of the angst and hatred that exists in that part of the world, that we tried to win it with too few troops in too fast a time. Lest anyone thinks I believe we have failed militarily, please understand I believe when President Bush stood in front of "mission accomplished" on an aircraft carrier that, in purely military terms, the mission was accomplished in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. But win-

ning a battle, winning a war, is different than winning a peace.

We were not prepared to win the peace by clearing, holding, and building. You don't do that fast and you don't do it with too few troops. I believe now that we must either determine to do that, or we must redeploy in a way that allows us to continue to prosecute the larger war on terror. It will not be pretty. We will pay a price in world opinion. But I, for one, am tired of paying the price of 10 or more of our troops dying a day. So let's cut and run, or cut and walk, or let us fight the war on terror more intelligently than we have, because we have fought this war in a very lamentable way.

Those are my feelings. I regret them. I would have never voted for this conflict had I reason to believe that the intelligence we had was not accurate. It was not accurate, but that is history. Now we must find a way to make the best of a terrible situation, at a minimum of loss of life for our brave fighting men and women. So I will be looking for every opportunity to clear, build, hold, and win or how to bring our troops home.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia is recognized.

CHRISTMAS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, Sir Walter Scott, in his poem "Marmion," said these words:

Heap on more wood!—the wind is chill;
But let it whistle as it will,
We'll keep our Christmas merry still.

The Senate will shortly adjourn for the remainder of the year. We will return home to our families and friends and begin to think of putting up Christmas decorations and shopping for those special presents that we will give to our loved ones. We will leave much work unfinished, postponed until the new Congress convenes next January. That I regret.

Continuing resolutions allow the basic work of Government to proceed, but they do not offer clear guidance to Government offices and programs, and they postpone any new starts or major changes to programs until the regular authorizing and appropriation bills are acted upon. That is unfortunate. However, we may be grateful this Christmas that we live in a nation in which changes in Government may take place in a peaceful fashion in open elections. We may also be grateful that we live in a nation in which the voice of the people can be expressed freely, eloquently, and peacefully. Vox populi, vox diae. This Christmas, we might alter our prayers for those around the world who do not enjoy these same great blessings.

Christmastime is a time of peace and celebrating, as Christians do, the birth of Jesus, whose world-transforming message preached peace, tolerance, kindness, and love for all people. I am not quite sure where the message to

shop, spend, and wrap presents came from, for it is surely not in the Bible, nor in the teachings of Jesus. These days, it takes effort to carve out enough time and energy from the ceaseless march of consumerism to find the true spirit of Christmas. But, thankfully, it is still present amid all the bright lights and cheery background music. One can see it in the piles of canned goods donated to food banks. One can see it in the response to the "angel trees" that let people answer the Christmas wishes of children in their communities. One can hear it in the Christmas choirs that put on magnificent performances. "At Christmas play and make good cheer, for Christmas comes but once a year." So wrote Thomas Tusser, who lived from 1524 to 1580, demonstrating that some good things have changed very little over the years.

For the birth of Jesus, the angels sang, and for Him in this cold season, churches across the Nation will be filled with joyous music. The churches of West Virginia are always filled with great music, but at Christmastime the choirs are especially inspired. There are few things more uplifting than coming out of an evening church service, buoyed up by sweet traditional music, and seeing the stars of heaven sparkling like diamonds across the velvet dark sky. All of the carols that we learned as children in church, or around the family piano, sing in our heads, don't they? The three kings following the "yonder star," the stars shining brightly on that holy night, the manger in Bethlehem, and the holy mother and child on that silent night. Each year, these loving memories surface from the deep well of our childhood, each time bringing with them fond memories of happy days and family members no longer with us but still very dear to our hearts.

This year, many families will look to the stars to know that far across the globe their loved ones also gaze up at the same stars to recall home and to recall the same old Christmas story. In Afghanistan, in Iraq, in Korea and Kosovo, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and elsewhere around the globe, many thousands of U.S. troops will be spending this Christmas season in a decidedly unpeaceful setting, proudly and bravely wearing the uniforms of this Nation. The National Guard units of West Virginia will have done and will continue to do their part, serving repeated deployments—I say again, serving repeated deployments—overseas. Many of them will not be able to spend Christmas with their families. For our troops especially, we pray for peace, that they might be soon returned to the loving arms of their families. And to the families of our service men and women, we offer words, hopefully, of comfort, assuring them that none of us can forget that during this holiday season their loved ones are far from home—far from home and far from safety. Our prayers and our wishes are with them always.

My soul, there is a country
Far beyond the stars,
Where stands a winged sentry
All skillful in the wars:
There above noise and danger,
Sweet Peace is crown'd with smiles,
And One born in a manger
Commands the beauteous files.

Henry Vaughn in 1650 wrote those words in his poem titled "Peace."

Mr. President, I wish everyone in our Nation and everyone in our Nation's service around the globe a beautiful and peaceful Christmas season. Whenever the demands of the Nation may send you, in your hearts and in your memories you can hear the music and relive the family traditions that make Christmas so very, very special.

As this year closes and a new year dawns, we are filled with kind thoughts and bold resolutions. For some, it would be a time also filled with a certain buyer's remorse, as the Christmas bills come due. For others, New Year's resolutions will lead them into gymnasiums in fresh attempts to exercise and work off rich Christmas cookies and cakes. I applaud everyone with such determination. Each new year is a new chance to address our pressing individual issues, be they health related or economic.

The new Congress must also be filled with resolve—resolve to respond to the clear messages sent by the people of the United States. We will have much work to do if we are to successfully deal with the situation in the Middle East, the mounting national deficit at home, the rising costs of health care, and myriad other problems. Our resolve must last longer than most introductory gymnasium memberships if we are to set our national house in order.

In January, Lord willing, I will begin my ninth term as a United States Senator from the beautiful State of West Virginia, whose motto is "Mountaineers are always free." I have been here long enough to know that we have done it before, and we can do it again. I again thank the people of West Virginia for their votes of confidence in me, ROBERT C. BYRD, to continue in their service.

Mr. President, I close with a favorite poem of mine by James Henry Leigh Hunt, who lived from 1784 to 1859. This is a poem familiar to all of us, to me from my very earliest days in a little two-room schoolhouse. This favorite poem of mine by James Henry Leigh Hunt is entitled "Abou Ben Adhem." During the Christmas season, and especially as we brave the crowds and the traffic at the shopping malls and in the grocery stores, it is good to remember that the true message of the season is to love the Lord and to love our fellow men.

"Abou Ben Adhem":

Abou Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw, within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An Angel writing in a book of gold:
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the Presence in the room he said,

"What writest thou?" The Vision raised its head,
And with a look made of all sweet accord

Answered, "The names of those who love the Lord."

"And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay, not so,"

Replied the Angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still; and said, "I pray thee, then,

Write me as one who loves his fellow men."

The Angel wrote, and vanished. The next night

It came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had blessed,

And, lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest!

Mr. President, I wish you and I wish all Senators and all peoples everywhere a very merry and peaceful and pleasant and memorable Christmas.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I say to my neighbor in West Virginia, my friend and my colleague, first of all, that the poem he just recited is one that my wife Frances and I learned in the seventh grade in Yellow Springs. The Senator reciting it brings back very good memories, not only of the poem but of being in the seventh grade with my friends.

There will be many things about this Senate that I will miss, and certainly one that I will miss is having the opportunity to sit here and to listen to my colleague from West Virginia as he speaks. It is a great privilege. It is a great thrill.

I must tell him, however, that there is C-SPAN in Cedarville, OH. I suspect the library does get the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at Cedarville College and other places, so I will have the opportunity to listen to him and read what he has to say. He is a great treasure of this Senate.

I might also tell my colleague, as I told him personally yesterday, that I will carry around with me and keep with me and prize the small Constitution that I know is in his pocket right now that he gave me. I deeply appreciate that. And I know he gave one to the Presiding Officer as well.

One of the first things I did when I came to the Senate in January of 1995 was walk across the hall to see Senator BYRD. Senator BYRD was kind enough to give me his "History of the Senate." I have cherished that, have read it. That will be going back with Frances and myself to Ohio. If I do, I say to my colleague from West Virginia, do what I hope to do—do a little teaching at the college level—I am sure those books will certainly come in very handy.

I thank my colleague for his friendship and for his great service now beginning this January his ninth term in the Senate.

One final note. I will tell my colleague, and I don't know if I have told him this, but my son and my daughter-in-law and our new granddaughter now live in West Virginia, so they are constituents of my colleague.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. DEWINE. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. BYRD. I thank this friend of West Virginia, this friend of mine. I shall always remember as long as I live—however long that may be—I shall carry in my heart a very warm feeling for him. He is our neighbor. He represents the people of Ohio, our neighbor to the west of the West Virginia hills. I thank him for his friendship and for his services to his people. His people are my people. I wish him well in the days and years ahead wherever he may serve. May God always bless you, my friend, and may He always keep you in the palm of His hand.

Mr. DEWINE. I thank my colleague for his very generous and kind comments. One final comment to say that it was his great leadership, along with the great leadership of Senator MCCAIN and others, which allowed us—group is the word I would prefer—a group of 14 Senators to make an agreement that I think was in the best interests of the Senate, and it has proved to be in the best interests of the Senate, in regard to our judges and how we confirm them. It has worked so far. My wish for you and my other colleagues as you go on is that you will continue to keep that agreement and it will continue to work. That is my wish.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the able Senator. I shall do my best to help fulfill his confidence and wishes.

HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

SERGEANT DANIEL MICHAEL SHEPHERD

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a courageous young man, who dedicated his life to defending the freedom of others. Army SGT Daniel Michael Shepherd of Elyria, OH was killed in Iraq on August 15, 2004, when his vehicle was struck by a bomb. He was only 23 years old.

Daniel—fondly referred to as "Danny" by his family and friends—was deployed to support Operation Iraqi Freedom in September 2003, after being stationed at Fort Riley in Kansas. Danny joined the military in 2000, upon his graduation from high school. A courageous member of the 1st Battalion, 16th infantry regiment, 1st Brigade, Danny was remembered as a committed soldier and loyal friend.

His platoon SGT Ron Tulanowski remembers Danny's reliability and bravery when the Sergeant's armored vehicle was hit by a grenade. In describing Danny's heroism, the Sergeant said that "he probably saved my life the day I got hit." Danny was more concerned for the lives of others than he was for his own. I can think of nothing more honorable.

Danny attended Columbia High School where he played center and tight end on the school's football team. He was known as a great athlete and devoted team player. According to Ray Anthony, the Columbia Township Fire Chief, "Danny was like the big brother